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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 423 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community, and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

[576] [201] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 422 226 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *tucusi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 571 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower of the canoe and his helper (*tau*). The *tau* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tau* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatau." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tau*, nor

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857 Among the eight boys below the ages of Autsuki and Jawaku there were no clearly organized groups. When outdoors they usually played in small groups of three or four, although nearly all would gather together occasionally for some special activity. The small groups were usually composed of age mates. Tsirikoan, the youngest, spent most of his time in the house, while the oldest boy, Muruta, was already drifting away from the others and spending more time with the men. Tay, an orphan boy of between ten and twelve years of age, was decidedly a misfit and did not join the others often. Of the remaining five, the three oldest were steady companions, while the two youngest either trailed them or stayed near their houses.

[572] Despite the fact that the children were together frequently, there were no fast friendships or strong ties of loyalty and dependence. In this respect they were much like the men. Their play together was sporadic, and participation was fluid and shifting.

857 The only organized play in which the children indulged was wrestling. 526 Matches were infrequent and usually broke up within fifteen minutes. [569] All the boys turned out on such occasions except Tay, whose interests [838] were abnormally directed toward homosexual play. The wrestling matches were a complete replica of the adult contests, the boys even [858] sitting on the log in the men's circle (this was one of the few times they were permitted to do so). The adults never interfered. Usually they stood near the houses and watched the grappling with great amusement. When the wrestling involved boys of the village only, it was very informal and few pains were taken with their ornamentation. Each bout consisted of trying out some holds and grunting loudly in imitation of the men. The contests generally ended in a draw by mutual consent without any hostility being shown.

Most of the matches were between the older boys. But they also wrestled with the younger children. Even little Tsirikoan wrestled once. As he did not know what he was expected to do, he merely grunted and fell down. The bigger boys were very gentle with the little ones and tried only to teach them.

648 Just as the men were excited by the intertribal wrestling matches, the 857 boys welcomed the chance to wrestle with boys from other tribes. This 526 occurred regularly, since it was customary in the upper Xingú for a boy [484] to travel with his maternal uncle. At one such time, a Kamayurá boy [604] came to the Trumaí village and was invited to wrestle. The boys gathered [171] in the men's circle after having carefully painted themselves and put on new arm and leg bands. The older boys wrestled the Kamayurá youngster in turn, but since he was bigger, he threw them easily. The Trumaí men watched from a distance, silently rooting for their own [576] boys, but laughing loudly as each landed on his back, out of politeness to the visitors.

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577 831 833 156 123 Yanahi was less inhibited than any of the other men, but his behavior was not considered shocking or immoral. Quain had apparently arrived at the village just at the time that Yanahi was on the threshold of sexual experience. He appeared in Quain's house one night to show that he had an erection and announced that he would soon be having coitus. Thereafter, he rarely failed to tell Quain of his exploits. One night quite a crowd, including Yanahi and one of his paramours, Vatsiat, was gathered in Quain's house. The young man suddenly developed a longing for her and, as soon as all the visitors had left, satisfied his craving noisily amidst Quain's pots and pans. He was proud of his virility, as were most of the Trumaí men.

577 831 562 837 No discredit attached to the male involved in a love affair and very little to the woman. Oirupa merely scolded his sister for having copulated with Yanahi. Only where adultery was involved did promiscuity lower the status of a woman. Chastity before marriage was not expected, and there was not a single virgin in the village over the age of puberty. Older women without husbands or close relatives to protect them were often used for sexual purposes against their will. This was especially the case with unmarried foreign women. Some of them complained that they had to dispense their favors to too many men too often.

831 152 583 [123] This aggressiveness and the danger of bride-capture made the women extremely fearful of being raped, and, as noted above, they were uneasy even when the threats were made in fun. One morning Quain decided to get rid of his numerous female visitors by employing this device. They all fled except one, who, despite her seeming courage, looked worried. Without doubt, the women enjoyed visiting Quain, but a man told him that if he were to have intercourse with any one of them, they would all fear him. Over and above this fear of rape, there [578] was a definite hostility between the sexes, which was usually well controlled, but which on occasion might explode in open quarrels between the men and the women.

576 514 827 No cumbersome taboos surrounded physiological functions. Belching and the release of flatus were common in company, but generally disregarded. However, if an unusually unpleasant odor followed, those nearby spat on the ground as a mark of disgust. The men urinated near their houses or at the edge of the village plaza. The women went to the edge of the village clearing or behind the houses. Both sexes went a short distance into the brush to defecate, but at night elimination was permitted in the village plaza if a hole was first dug for this purpose and covered over.

There was no salacious attitude toward body processes. The Trumaí were puzzled by Quain's desire for privacy in his personal habits and his curiosity about other people's. One woman seriously asked if she could watch him eliminate.

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The main motivation for going into the brush to defecate was not modesty, but a feeling of revulsion for body products. One did not eliminate in places frequented by people. Yanahi was disgusted when Quain defecated in his garden and claimed that the garden was ruined. Similarly, it was considered repulsive to defecate in the water. When Quain described the great ship that had brought him to Brazil, the only thing that the Trumaí found hard to believe was that the people aboard would have to eliminate in the water.

The rules of etiquette required a person entering or leaving company to make an appropriate statement. The salutation usually consisted of a phrase stating what the person being greeted was doing at the moment. Thus, typical greetings were, "You are eating," "You have returned from fishing," "You are sitting," and so on. When leaving a person or group it was proper to announce, "I am leaving," followed generally by a statement of what one was going to do. If this last was not observed, the departing person was usually asked where he was going. These formalities were not as regularly invoked in the larger gatherings as in house-visiting.

The rules of etiquette also required the emission of conventionalized cries on particular occasions, such as the bringing of food into the village or the offering of tobacco to guests. In the latter case the person making the presentation cried "*aha*," the recipient "*ha-a-a ha ha ha*." These amenities, which were observed between the Trumaí, were always louder when an outsider was involved.

Hospitality was extended to all upper Xingú Indians and white men who visited the village. In part this was inspired by a fear of their neighbors, in part by etiquette. The Trumaí had little reason to fear Quain; yet he was treated with the greatest kindness and consideration, and everyone was eager to converse with him. Indeed, their attentions were so constant that at times he wanted nothing more than to be left alone.

While the men were far more self-assertive than the women, they were also extremely sensitive. They were insulted at the refusal of a request, or at the denial of what they considered to be the recognition due them as individuals. They did not like to be treated as faceless members of a group. During the argument that followed Quain's complaint that some article of his had been stolen, Maibu criticized him for addressing them collectively as "Trumaí," while they always called him "*capitão*" or by his name.

The Trumaí were greatly interested in Western goods and their behavior toward whites was unrestrained. The following quotation from Quain's field notes describes this succinctly:

> The reason why it is so difficult to live with these people is that they are so "impolite." At least in their dealings with me, an outsider, and with the mission-

/191 cont./

484 In perfect order, as though this were a carefully rehearsed theatri-
501 cal performance /192/ supported by very successful scenery, the
609 long, narrow craft glided silently along, a considerable distance from our praia /sandy shore; see the glossary, p. 172 /, closer to
[291] the opposite wooded shore; no command sounded. Almost all
[302] the naked occupants were painted black and bright red on faces
[289] and bodies, many simply blackened all over with soot; on their heads they wore white feather caps, the hair was cut short all
[141] around, as among the Bakaïrí; the standing ones were overtopped by the bows, almost two and a half meters long, and in the left hand held a thick bundle of colorfully feathered arrows.

609 Gradually they came to a stop and the stillness was followed
● 576 by a dreadful noise, a fanatical howling and bellowing. There
[101] could be no doubt but that they were Trumaí, for they shouted this word incessantly as though their lives depended on it, beat their fists against their chests, and at the same time made bows with their upper bodies all the more violently since their legs had little room for lively gesticulation. Nevertheless, if any of us had behaved half as excitedly in the canoe, we would surely have fallen hopelessly into the water at the very beginning of the imitation. But we were on firm ground, and the example is contagious. We, too, howled; we, too, bellowed; we, too, beat our chests. Everybody shouted whatever he happened to remember of an Indian language: "Katú, hekatú Trumaí, Bakaïrí, Kustenaú," interspersed with an occasional lusty "diavo," heiliges Donnerwetter /hang it all/ in German, "don't these fellows have any sense?"

[123] But far from it! No matter how invitingly we waved to them, how affably we clapped our hands, how graciously we pointed to our campsite, as though we were speaking to the Spaniard, "Sir, this house is your house," it did not help in the least. It was clear that this performance is official on the Schingú; we should be committing a breach of etiquette were we to speak of other things before we had thoroughly introduced ourselves to each other for half an hour.

/193 cont./

123 Most of them proffered a piece of beijú as a present and at
576 the same time said "má." My companion took my hat, but I
609 respectfully demanded it back. Everything seemed to be going smoothly; I was among the last, and in front they had already reached our hammocks.

609 Suddenly I hear a shot behind me; Cousin Wilhelm is
152 standing there, without his hat, gesticulating, his Indian guest
123 is sitting in the sand and kicking and striking with all fours; already he leaps up. What panic! Are they afraid that the earth will open up and swallow them? This is primitive fear; there is no question but that we have thunder and lightning at our command. With a few leaps all are in the canoes; they push off; screaming, they row with all their might and do not begin to calm down a bit until they are in the middle of the river. No pleading, no peace demonstrations -- we put down the guns and walk unarmed across the beach -- can persuade them to return.

609 A boat with four of our men is in their midst, I thought
123 /194/ at first with the intention of calming the excited compadres; but it soon became evident that they wanted some of their things back, Manoel's pistol, the hats of Castro, Wilhelm, and Antonio, Quintilian's gun, the ax used for the soundings -- I don't know what all; it is incredible how they could have taken possession of all this in the short time.

609 The entire fleet is already on the left side of the Kuliseü.
721 Suddenly a Trumaí shoots an arrow toward our canoes, and in a
123 moment the guns of the soldiers are rattling. They assert that they only fired into the air. A wild scene ensues; all the Indians leap head over heels out of the canoes, abandon these and their weapons, swim to the nearby shore, and disappear among the trees. The soldiers, once having been seized by the furor of battle, continue to shoot eagerly, no matter how much Castro, from the shore, tries to order them: rest arms! Finally it is quiet; they rummage and hunt in all the canoes and start coming back. There is not a Trumaí to be seen anywhere in the forest; like peaceful staffage, their canoes lie peacefully along the shore, and only here and there, like a dead bird, a feather ornament floats on the waves.